

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00
MC-02 NSC-05 /066 W
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R 221946Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2369
SECDEF WAHSDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
CINCLANT
USCINCEUR
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
USLOSACLANT
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1628

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC, NPG
SUBJECT: CRUISE MISSILE DISCUSSIONS IN NATO

REF: USNATO 1496 (DTG 161723 MAR 77)

SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE US SHOULD MOVE NOW TO ACCELERATE
CONSULTATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES IN NATO. WE
RECOMMEND CIRCULATION OF A US PAPER IN THE NAC AROUND
WHICH TO STRUCTURE A DIALOGUE TO MEET ALLIED CONCERNS
AND TO PRESERVE US OPTIONS AS SALT NEGOTIATIONS DEVLEOP.
WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES
BILATERALLY WIT UK AND FRG. US SHOULD ALSO PREPARE
COMPLIMENTARY INTERVENTIONS FOR NPG PERMPRE AND MINISTERIAL
DISCUSSIONS THIS SPRING. END SUMMARY.

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1. WE BELIEVE US SHOULD MOVE NOW TO DEAL WITH WIDE-
SPREAD AND STRONG INTEREST IN CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES
WHICH ALLIES DISPLAYED AT MARCH 21 NAC AND EXPERTS
SESSIONS ON SALT, AND ON FRINGES OF THESE MEETINGS
(REPORTED SEPTELS). ALLIES SENSE THAT TREATMENT OF
CRUISE MISSILES IN SALT COULD BEGIN TO UNFOLD RAPIDLY.
WE COULD INCUR IMPEDIMENTS TO SMOOTH AND SUCCESSFUL
CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES ON AN EMERGING SALT
AGREEMENT IF WE HAVE NOT LAID THENECESSARY GROUNDWORK.

2. SEVERAL ALLIES URGED EARLY INITIATION OF A NATO STUDY. WE SEE DISTINCT DISADVANTAGES TO A STUDY QU A STUDY, WHICH COULD BE DIFFICULT TO ORGANIZE, TIME CONSUMING TO CONDUCT, AND CHANCY IN OUTCOME. IN OUR VIEW, US SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO STRUCTURE A DIALOGUE WHOSE PACE AND CONTENT WE CAN CONTROL AGAINST GACKGROUND OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT, AND WHICH WILL SERVE TO:

- HEAD OFF PRESSURES FOR S ATUDY;
- KEEP THE ISSUE AT POLITICAL LEVELS WITH SENIOR ALLIED OFFICIALS;
- FACILITATE COMPLEMENTARY BILATERAL EXCHANGES WITH UK AND FRG;
- KEEP US OPTIONS OPEN.

3. ACCORDINGLY, WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING APPROACH:

- (A) US PREPARE FOR CIRCULATION IN THE NAC DURING APRIL A BRIEFING PAPER PROVIDING AS MUCH AS WE CAN REASONABLY GIVE ON CRUISE MISSILES (E.G., DEPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS; TRADEOFFS WITH ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS, INCLUDING COST-EFFECTIVENESS COMPARISONS; MOBILITY AND LAUNCH PLATFORM ALTERNATIVES; SURVIVABILITY AND PENETRABILITY; COUNTER-MEASURES; CONVENTIONAL/NUCLEAR OPTIONS).
- (B) INVITE UK AND FRG TO DISCUSS PAPER BILATERALLY.
- (C) SHHEDULE DISCUSSION IN NAC, WITH US AND ALLIED
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EXPERTS PRESENT.

- (D) POSSIBLY CONTINUE DIALOGUE AT NAC MINISTERIAL IN LONDON, WORKING TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF PRELIMINARY CONSENSUS ON CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1628

(E) SUPPORT FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSIONS AS APPROPRIATE, BUTTRESSED BY ADDITIONAL US BRIEFING PAPERS ON RELEVANT ISSUES, IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT AND US CRUISE MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. ISSUES MIGHT BE REMANDED TO AN AD HOC COMMITTEE OF ALLIED REPS UNDER US CHAIRMANSHIP--LIKE THE NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY STUDY IN THE NPG -- FOR VETTING PRIOR TO FURTHER DISCUSSION BY PERMREPS AND MINISTERS. THIS LAST GAMBIT WOULD GIVE US EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER PACE OF DISCUSSIONS IN AD HOC COMMITTEE, AS WELL AS OVER CONTENT OF RESULTS OF DISCUSSION TO BE PRESENTED TO NAC.

4. WE EXPECT CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES TO CENTER LARGELY AROUND DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT, AND THUS WE BELIEVE LOCUS OF NATO DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE IN THE NAC. AS INDICATED REF C, THERE WILL ALSO BE STRONG PARALLEL ATTENTION ON
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CRUISE MISSILES IN NPG DISCUSSIONS OF NUCLEAR BALANCE. ACCORDINGLY, WE ALSO SHOULD DEVELOP US INTERVENTIONS FOR NPG PERMREP AND NPG MINISTERIAL SESSIONS THIS SPRING WHICH COMPLEMENT DISCUSSIONS IN THE NAC. FOR REASONS OUTLINED ABOVE, WE BELIEVE US SHOULD RESIST INITIATION OF AN NPG STUDY ON CRUISE MISSILES.

5. IF WASHINGTON CONCURS IN APPROACH IN PARA 3 ABOVE, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD DEFUSE ALLIED CONCERNS BY ANNOUNCING US INTENTION TO CIRCULATE A CRUISE MISSILE PAPER FOR DISCUSSION IN THE NAC. SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT MIGHT BE MADE DURING THE SECRETARY'S MARCH 26 VISIT, OR DURING NAC CONSULTATIONS AFTER THE MOSCOW TRIP. STRAUZ-HUPE

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